

C o m m u n i s t P a r t y

19th
NATIONAL
CONGRESS

Resolutions and Proceedings

P R I C E S I X P E N C E

19th NATIONAL CONGRESS

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The 19th Congress of the Communist Party was held at the Seymour Hall, London, W.1., on February 22, 23 and 24, 1947.

Congress was opened by William Gallacher, M.P., Chairman of the Party. J. R. Campbell presided and made the closing speech.

At the beginning of the Congress the sad death of Alex Massie, one of the Party's most outstanding workers, was announced.

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This is Part II of the Report of the 19th Congress. Part I, *Britain's Problems Can Be Solved*, the speech of Harry Pollitt, may be obtained separately, price 6d.

Political Resolution

The Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party declares that the British people face one of the most critical periods in their history.

The dangerous economic position, shown by the continued manpower shortage, deficient production, out-of-date industry and adverse balance of trade, confronts the country with most serious problems. The great fuel crisis, which paralysed the country and threw two million people out of work, was indicative of the general situation.

These harsh economic difficulties are in the first instance the result of years of Tory rule, shameless capitalist misuses of the country's resources, and the final breakdown of Britain's privileged position as a consequence of the war.

Moreover, the hold of British capitalism on the Empire has been shaken by the advancing struggle of the colonial peoples and the pressure of American penetration, as shown in the dependence on the American loan.

In place of the decisive re-alignment of Britain's entire policy which the situation demanded, the Labour Government has compromised with big business at home, and carried on an imperialist policy abroad. There is no adequate economic plan, and the imperialist foreign policy, with its excessive armaments and armed forces, intensifies every aspect of the economic difficulties as well as endangering the peace of the world.

Tory reaction has attempted to utilise the situation to undermine the Government and propagate the idea of coalition.

While the working-class and Labour movement, with class understanding and initiative, have defeated the Tory plans and have overcome the worst immediate fuel problems, Congress warns that decisive changes in the policy and composition of the Government are essential in order to deal with the basic position and solve the crisis in the interests of the people.

The main objectives before the people of this country now are:—

1. Solution of the fuel crisis, overcoming of the manpower shortage, adoption of a real overall economic plan, speed up nationalisation of key industries, introduction of economic controls to combat monopolist strangleholds and vested interests.
2. Speed up every aspect of Labour's social policy, raise wages, control prices, reduce profits and decisively raise the living standards of the people.
3. Change the imperialist foreign policy, defeat all attempts to rebuild fascism and reaction, withdraw British troops from India, Greece, Egypt and Palestine, cut down the armed forces and strengthen world peace.
4. Finally, smash all Tory coalition attempts and, by the united pressure of the Labour movement, bring about a decisive reorganisation of the Labour Government to achieve these aims.

I. The Deepened Crisis of Capitalism

The period now facing us is marked by the increasing bankruptcy of capitalist society, the great advance of the working class and subject peoples, and the desperate struggles of monopoly capitalism to hold back that advance.

The war—itself the outcome of the general crisis of capitalism—has deepened that crisis.

Economic: The conflict between the growth of the productive forces and the existing capitalist relations of production has been enormously intensified. There is extreme unevenness of development and disproportion between war-ravaged Europe, suffering from under-production, famine-stricken Asia, and the surplus-ridden United States already facing problems of over-production.

United States monopoly capitalism has enormously increased its predominance, and now controls three-fifths of the production output of the capitalist world. But with the closing of the world market, this enhanced productive power is faced with the limited absorption possibilities arising from existing social relations in the United States and in an impoverished world. The reckless lifting of all controls has accelerated the development by which the feverish boom already begins to give place to signs of approaching depression. The Republican victory in the American elections has further strengthened the domination of the most aggressive anti-working-class sections of American capitalism.

Britain's economic problems arising from the decline of capitalism are acute, and find expression in the deficit in the balance of payments, the dependence on the American loan; the chronic crisis of the basic industries and agriculture, and the relative obsolescence of plant and lower level of productive power in contrast with the United States.

On the other hand, the Soviet Union, despite its heavy losses through the war, on the basis of its Socialist economy, is able to carry through a great plan of reconstruction and development which ensures rising standards for its people. In Eastern Europe the new people's democracies are developing their countries' resources on a secure economic basis that will not be at the mercy of the capitalist crisis. In all countries the working people are pressing forward for the control of monopoly and planned measures to ensure a rising standard of living.

Political: Politically, the hold of imperialism in the world is weakened by the collapse of the Axis Powers, the strengthening of the Soviet Union and the new democracies in Europe, and the growth of Colonial liberation movements. The bourgeoisie in all European countries is weakened as a result of its connection with treacherous capitulation to Nazism, and the working-class parties have won government positions in a number of countries.

The strength of Socialism and the peoples have enormously grown. This strength is shown in:

(i) The influence of the Soviet Union, which is rallying the world democratic and peace forces;

(ii) the new democracies in Europe, comprising one hundred million people, who have ended the domination of feudalism and big capital, and advanced along the path of popular social and economic reconstruction;

(iii) the electoral victory of the Labour movement in Britain, and the advancing militancy shown in the Trades Union Congress and in the working class generally; the electoral victories of the Communist Party in France and of the Communist and Socialist Parties in Italy; the trade union militancy and beginnings of a progressive movement in the United States;

(iv) the advance of the Colonial liberation movements especially in India, South-East Asia and the Middle East;

(v) the consolidation of the democratic forces in China, despite armed foreign intervention on the side of reaction;

(vi) the increased strength of the working-class movement, with the advance of Communist Parties to a leading position in the major European countries, extensions of Socialist-Communist co-operation and achievement of world trade union unity through the World Federation of Trade Unions, comprising 71 million members.

II. The New Reactionary Offensive

In opposition to this advance of the popular movement, an intensified offensive of world reaction is taking place.

United States monopoly capitalism seeks to find scope for its vast accumulated capital and enhanced productive power by a policy of aggressive world expansion designed to conquer markets in all countries, to break down all barriers of planned economy, and to subject the world to its domination. It is using the monopoly of the atom bomb as a potential threat to all who stand in its way.

British policy today in general combines with American imperialism in a bloc in opposition to the Soviet Union, the new democracies in Europe and democratic advance over the world. British imperialism in many cases even takes the principal anti-democratic initiative, as over Greece, Spain, the Middle East, Indonesia, etc. The Anglo-American bloc reveals itself in practice in the diplomatic field, in all international conferences, with the ranging of a majority of satellite and client States against the Soviet Union and new democracies, and with the parallel dispatch of notes and protests to the new democratic States; and in the military field, with joint staff co-operation and arms standardisation. The Anglo-American bloc seeks to build up the reactionary forces all over the world against popular advance. This offensive, fanned and stimulated by the war incendiaries in both countries, who also seek to misuse religion for reactionary ends, endangers peace and international co-operation.

At the same time, sharpening divisions of interest of British and American imperialism are revealed, especially in the economic field, as in the proceedings of the International Trade Conference and the question of imperial preferences, and in special spheres of rival penetration, as in the Middle East.

III. The Fight for Peace and Democracy

To defeat this new offensive and prevent the menace of a third world war will require the combined strength and activity of all the Socialist working-class and progressive movements throughout the world.

The representatives of the Soviet Union and the new European democracies are playing a foremost part in international conferences for the peace settlement, and in the United Nations to rally the peoples against the warmongers and against all attempts to limit democracy and the freedom of nations and impose Western monopoly-capitalist domination.

The World Federation of Trade Unions is similarly rallying the world working class for the aims of democracy and peace against the warmongers and backers of fascist revival.

Within Britain and the United States there is growing opposition of progressive opinion against the aims of the Anglo-American bloc. This has found expression in the United States in the campaign led by Wallace and by the progressive Labour movement represented by the C.I.O.; in Britain within the ranks of the Parliamentary Labour Party and in the Trades Union Congress.

IV. The Situation in Britain

The changed situation of Britain in the new world after the war makes imperative far-reaching economic and political changes. The old basis of British capitalism and imperialism is bankrupt. The only solution for the problems before the British people today lies along the path of the advance to Socialism.

The basic choice opens out more and more clearly before the British people:

Either to go forward along the path of radical, social and economic reorganisation, breaking the power of monopoly and building up planned economy, and establishing close co-operation internationally with the Socialist Soviet Union, the planned economies of the new democracies in Europe and the advancing Colonial peoples;

Or to sink to dependence on American monopolist reaction, surrender to the monopolies at home, succumb to economic crisis and depression spreading from America, and be engulfed in war as the outpost and vulnerable advance base of American reaction against European democracy.

The action of the British people can determine the balance of world forces and be decisive for the future of democracy.

Economic: Economically, Britain is faced with acute problems. The old parasitic imperialist basis, by which tribute flowed to Britain in the shape of vast imports, only half of which were paid for by exports of goods, can no longer be maintained. To meet the deficit requires both an increase of exports and an increase of home production to meet home needs. This is of exceptional importance in agriculture, which is capable of great development. The adverse balance of trade has been temporarily met by the U.S. Loan, but the conditions of the Loan, especially the convertibility of sterling, are liable to bring further acute problems this year. The economic tie-up with the United States increases the vulnerability of the country in face of the threatening American slump.

This situation, no less than the need to raise social standards at home, requires a radical reorganisation of industry, agriculture and the whole field of economy to increase production and lower production costs. But such reorganisation comes up against the heavy obstacles of monopoly, the

obsolescence of existing plant and the heavy capital costs of new equipment. The basic industries, coal, iron and steel, textiles, and also agriculture, all reveal critical problems.

The most critical position is that of coal. The fuel crisis which paralysed economic life and threw two million out of work shows a desperate position which can be resolved only by an increase in manpower and technical resources to step up production to 220 million tons.

There is an overall shortage of manpower, but it is felt with special force in the basic industries, as a result of generations of technical backwardness and low wages. The shortage is intensified by the withdrawal of over a million women from industry, and the rejection of a policy of equal pay to encourage the participation of women in industry.

The economic outlook for Britain is closely linked with the policy carried out in foreign and colonial affairs. The manpower shortage is intensified as long as great military forces are maintained abroad to protect the interests of British imperialism in exploiting other peoples, and to prevent the growth of democracy. It is also aggravated by the failure to provide work for 360,000 unemployed, most of whom are in the Development Areas.

Social: War conditions, with full employment and higher family earnings, coupled with rationing and price controls, and the stronger position of the Trade Unions, brought about a certain improvement in conditions for the working class. Since the war ended, however, these conditions have deteriorated, and the limitation of many needs, accepted as inevitable during the war, is becoming more oppressive for working people.

Some of the measures contained in Labour's programme have been carried out or promised in recent legislation. The maintenance of rationing and price controls for most necessities, although widely evaded, has substantially protected the people from economic anarchy such as developed in the United States.

Although important sections of the working class have won the five-day week and increased wage rates, a substantial fall in average family earnings has taken place: large-scale unemployment has reappeared in the Distressed Areas; many workers, especially women, are compelled to take jobs at reduced rates; prices and fares are rising, and the continued short supply of necessities is forcing workers to buy substitutes at high prices.

There is a general tendency to attack stewards and workshop organisations. Family allowances and increases in old-age pensions are denied to many people most in need of them as a result of inexcusable anomalies. In spite of the war years having intensified the urgent need for the extension of Education and Health Services, the reactionary forces are still obstructing the carrying through of these measures.

The housing shortage is growing more acute, and the building of houses for the workers is adversely affected by the granting of licences for non-essential work, and the growth of black market building. Many local authorities do little to improve the state of existing working-class houses, and some are even raising rents.

The general deterioration in conditions for working people is in striking contrast with the rising profits and luxurious living of the rich, whose

influence and money enable them to evade controls, cut right across the housing programme by the selfish use of labour and material, and inflate prices and profits by monopoly and speculation.

Political: The electoral programme on which Labour was returned raised the immediate issues of democratic reforms in the economic and social field, the fight for which can further strengthen working-class political consciousness and influence against monopoly and vested interests.

In its operation of this programme, however, the Labour Government, representing the outlook of Social Democracy, is not taking those decisive measures which rouse the enthusiasm of the working class and strengthen its fight against monopoly, but is seeking to apply its programme without inroads into capitalism and by agreement with vested interests, thus transforming it into a programme to reorganise capitalism at the cost of the working class.

Its foreign policy is seeking to continue Tory imperialism in new ways and with new methods. Even where the strength of the liberation movements forces political concessions, the granting of them is always accompanied by attempts to offset them and to maintain imperialist domination.

While these tendencies have aroused the concern of active sections of the Labour movement, the response has been shown in increased militancy and not in surrender to moods of passive disillusionment or reaction. All attempts of Toryism to take advantage of current difficulties to stage a come-back have been defeated by the vigilance of the Labour movement, but the forces of reaction have not given up. Behind the smokescreen of anti-Semitism organised fascist activity is developing again.

Anti-Semitism is a weapon in the fascist attack against the working class. Toleration of fascist and anti-Semitic activity must be ended and legislation passed to outlaw fascism in any shape or form.

V. Social Democracy and Communism

The Labour Government attempts to justify its policy as a "social-democratic middle way" between capitalism and Communism. To make this argument more convincing, it sets up a bogey of Communism as dictatorial, undemocratic and violent, and presents Social Democracy as the democratic and peaceful way of achieving Socialism.

Under cover of similar arguments, Social Democracy has never hesitated to support the use of violence against the militant sections of the working class or peoples struggling for their freedom, while it has condemned the forcible suppression by the peoples of the big landowners and capitalists who stand in the way of freedom.

In Britain Social Democracy has certain peculiar characteristics. On the one hand, owing to the position of Britain as the centre of a world empire it is strongly influenced by that section of the workers and the lower middle class who tend to identify themselves with the existing social system. But at the same time the unique structure of the British Labour Party, with its strong trade union roots, gives the working class an unrivalled opportunity for changing the policy of the Government. All this means that the struggle for a Socialist policy is being fought out within the Labour Party itself.

This is a struggle to force the Labour Party to abandon the traditional policy of Social Democracy, which has nowhere led to the achievement of Socialism. Its pre-war record in Europe has shown that, in country after country, it led to the strengthening of capitalism and prepared the way for fascism.

During and since the war new and powerful currents of thought in favour of working-class unity in the struggle against capitalism have expressed themselves within the Social Democratic parties, but it must also be noted that the leaders of the British Labour Party have taken the initiative on a European scale in fighting against this unity upsurge.

The question at issue for the working class is not a "middle way." It is a Socialist way, as against a capitalist way, the following of the path of struggle against the exploiting class. That is why the search for a "middle way" leads the Labour Government inevitably into surrender to capitalist interests and hostility to the democratic advance of the people.

This is shown in its foreign and colonial policy by its defence of British imperialist interests; its subservience to American imperialism, its support of reaction in Greece and Spain; its use of Indian troops in Indonesia and Iraq while proclaiming India's freedom; its maintenance of huge armed forces in the Far and Middle East; its settled hostility to the countries where the people have won their freedom by the Socialist way under the leadership of the Communist Party or the united Socialist and Communist Parties.

This surrender to capitalist interests shows itself also in the Labour Government's home policy. Nationalisation is carried through slowly, by agreement with the capitalists and with excessive compensation which leaves the parasitic burden on the working class unchanged; the "best capitalist brains" are put in control of the nationalised industries. Instead of being tackled as an urgent military operation, housing is retarded by fear of interference with the profit-making interests at every stage. Prices and profits are allowed to rise; while the workers are discouraged from fighting for wage increases and shorter hours.

The Communist Party, together with the militant sections of the Labour movement, is fighting for a Socialist policy, not on the basis of abstract theoretical differences, but on the basis of a united fight against capitalism and reaction.

It is the special task of Marxism, of Communism, to bring clearness of understanding as to the class issues involved; to bring into the fight for a Socialist policy all supporters of democracy, progress and peace; and to strengthen working-class confidence in its ability to solve present problems in the Socialist way, and harness the gigantic new production forces released by modern science for the limitless advance of humanity.

VI. The Policy of the Communist Party

In the present critical situation in Britain the Communist Party fights to promote all measures which will safeguard peace, win the rapid improvement of working and living conditions by the controlled use of Britain's resources, and strengthen the working class for the advance to Socialism.

The Communist Party, while defending the Government against all attacks by the Tories and monopolists, demands an immediate change in policy and the reorganisation of the Government to overcome the critical position before the country. Those ministers who are deeply committed to a policy of compromise with big business and are pursuing an unashamed imperialist foreign policy must be dropped. The Government must be strengthened with trusted leaders of the working class prepared to act resolutely against the imperialist, monopoly and vested interests.

The Communist Party fights for basic changes in the present policy of the Labour Government which are necessary to ensure the fulfilment of these aims.

Reconstruction: Only a resolute programme of overall economic planning, overriding the resistance of monopolist interests, can ensure the rapid improvement of the standards of the people and defeat the menace of a new economic crisis.

The Communist Party places in the forefront the need for the most rapid all-round increase of production. This will require strengthened Government action in close co-operation with the Trade Unions and the Co-operative Movement along the following lines:—

Drafting and publication of a production plan covering the most urgent needs and ensuring full use and expansion of industry in the Development Areas, with compulsory powers to direct industry to those areas.

Government control of prices and supplies, and bulk purchases to safeguard production of priorities. Full use of the Co-operative movement in the working of all controls.

Immediate nationalisation of steel, railways and privately-owned transport services, electricity and gas, and the land; compensation to be scaled down for big owners and paid in terminable annuities. Effective trade union participation at all levels in the running of nationalised industries and in the operation of all Government plans and controls.

Physical and financial control of investment, to ensure its direction into useful channels.

The energetic development of all forms of agriculture, cutting through the rings controlling supplies and marketing, and ensuring full use of the country's land for food production.

Planned control of exports and imports so as to ensure priority of essential imports for the people before luxury imports; and development of trading relations, especially with those countries which are building planned economies.

Improved Living and Working Conditions: In order to win a rapid improvement in working and living conditions for the people, it is necessary to press forward on the following main issues:—

Higher wages for all sections of industry and trade to be paid out of profits; special attention to the improvement of conditions of lower-paid workers; the establishment of a statutory £5 minimum wage; consolidation of war bonuses into basic wages; equal pay for equal work and extension of female labour in all branches of industry: participation of all workers in the proceeds of greater productivity.

The 40-hours five-day week, with shorter hours for special sections of industry, and for young workers. Minimum two weeks' paid holiday, in addition to paid Bank Holidays.

One hundred per cent trade unionism, the strengthening of workshop organisation and shop stewards in defence of established privileges. Legal recognition of shop stewards' committees. The complete overhaul of the existing negotiating machinery to speed up settlement of workers' demands: abolition of legal restrictions on right to strike.

The extension of Joint Production Committees in all industries. Workers' participation in solving production difficulties and in improving working conditions and the technique and methods of production.

Opposition to the introduction of foreign labour and to the settlement of the Anders' Poles in Britain on the grounds that these measures are being furthered for reactionary political purposes and are harmful to the productive effort.

Introduction, without delay, of the full benefits under the Government's social measures; speeding-up of educational advance.

Immediate increase of the rates of unemployment benefits, widows', old-age and disablement pensions to meet the rising cost of living; abolition of all forms of means test; family allowances to be ignored in the payment of unemployment or P.A.C. benefits, and such allowances to commence with the first child.

Abolition of income tax on incomes under £250 a year, and raising of allowances on lower incomes. Increase of taxation on higher incomes, the scaling down of indirect taxation, the abolition of the purchase tax on essential goods.

No higher prices, fares or rents; imprisonment for speculators and black-market operators.

Housing: Speed-up provision of houses under a separate Ministry of Housing; no licences for luxury building and unessential repairs; imprisonment for black-market builders; a full guaranteed week, better wages and conditions for building workers, with a scheme of incentive payments under trade union control; speedier training of manpower for the industry; trade union participation at all levels in the building drive, with Joint Production Committees on every job. Greater use of all prefabrication methods. Reduced interest charges on housing loans; effective Government control of the building materials industry, with Government bulk purchase and resale at fixed prices of materials; encouragement to local authorities to establish direct labour building departments. No increases of rent to be allowed. Introduce immediately a policy of higher housing subsidies. Rents of new houses to be the same as average rents in an area. Consolidate the Rent Acts in a new Act maintaining control of rents and security of tenancy. Institute a national policy for slum clearance. Abolish the tied-cottage system.

Foreign Policy: To defeat the aggressive imperialist plans and to bring Britain into association with the democratic and progressive peoples throughout the world, the Communist Party calls for an immediate change in Britain's foreign policy to achieve the following aims:

(1) To re-establish effective co-operation of the three leading Powers—Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States—and to build up

international co-operation through the United Nations under the leadership of the three principle Powers.

- (2) To ensure that Britain supports all progressive policies in U.N.O. and other international organisations, defending Socialist and democratic countries against interference by British and United States imperialism.
- (3) To end British subservience to United States imperialism and support for reaction in Europe, to extend and strengthen the Anglo-Soviet Treaty, and to establish friendly political and economic relations with the Socialist Soviet Union and all countries whose governments are seeking to develop their resources on a planned and stable basis.
- (4) To press for the control of atomic weapons by the Security Council and for a great reduction of armaments.
- (5) To carry through the denazification of Germany, the break-up of the large estates and trusts in the western zone, and establish a unified political and economic Germany based on democracy and peaceful progress.
- (6) To end British military, financial and political support of reaction in Greece.
- (7) To end British diplomatic and trade relations with Franco-Spain, and to give British support for U.N.O. action to end the Franco regime and establish a representative democratic Government in Spain.
- (8) To end British imperialist policy in India and all Colonial and mandated territories, and enable the peoples of these countries to establish democratic governments and develop their countries for their own benefit.
- (9) The application of this policy also requires the immediate reduction of our present excessive Armed Forces to a level sufficient to meet our U.N.O. commitments: far-reaching democratic reforms as the basis for compulsory military service; and changes in the Foreign Office and Embassies and the use of people with a consistent democratic outlook as Britain's representatives abroad.

VII. How to Carry Forward the Fight

The working class and progressive sections of the people have become increasingly aware, in the 18 months of the Labour Government, that the situation in Britain and of Britain in the world is not what they hoped and voted for in the General Elections. The struggles against rent increases, the squatters' movement, the fight for Trade Union organisation, the strikes for higher wages and against victimisation, show a growing understanding of the need for action to defend and improve working and living conditions. The votes cast at the Brighton Trades Union Congress for progressive policies also show growing appreciation of the class issues at home and abroad. At the same time, Trade Union and Co-operative organisations continue to grow stronger.

The mood of the workers is increasingly militant; dissatisfaction with the reactionary trends in the Labour Government's policy, and with its

failure to break through the vested interests that are holding up improvements in the lives of the working people is overcoming passivity and becoming an active force.

The problem at present is how to develop this active force in the working class and strengthen its influence in order to bring about sharp changes in the Government's policy and direct it towards radical, social and economic reorganisation at home and alliance with the progressive peoples abroad. It is this decisive policy of carrying forward the fight against monopoly and its imperialist policies that alone guarantees the consolidation of victories won, and lays the basis for further advance towards Socialism. The alternative is surrender to monopoly and the "continuity" of Tory-imperialist policy, losing the working-class initiative and seeing the advance to Socialism overwhelmed by economic crisis and a new war.

There is increased political awareness within the Labour movement, and a growth of influence and activity by the progressive sections of the Labour organisations. The task of Communist political leadership is to help this rising working-class militancy and political consciousness to develop and strengthen its influence in the Labour movement.

This requires increasing vigilance and initiative of the Communist Party and quick reaction to events, so that in the industries and localities the correct issues are raised at the right moment and help given to the mass movement on those issues. This fight must be conducted on every issue of concern to the working class, whether local, home or foreign, economic or social or political, in response to events.

This widespread activity of the Communist Party must be conducted vigorously and publicly and in such a way as continuously results in the growth of the Party itself, in membership, organisation and influence.

The Party establishes clearly its right and purpose to put forward candidates in parliamentary and municipal elections on a considerable scale in order to present its policy to the people in general and to strengthen its electoral base. In pursuance of this policy the Party will endeavour to reach local electoral agreements with Labour, trade union and other democratic bodies.

The Party must overcome tendencies to concentrate on limited issues, or to fail to give adequate response to issues that develop. For the development of such movements, which draw in all sections of the Labour movement, steady and widespread propaganda is essential, explaining the issues in factory, street and working-class organisations, exposing lies and distortions and showing how the workers' aims can be achieved. Party pamphlets and periodicals and the *Daily Worker* are invaluable for this purpose. The effective development of our propaganda requires the political education of our members on a greater scale than ever.

United action, based on a clear understanding of the issues, can win important gains for the working class and bring effective pressure on the Government for a progressive policy. Communist initiative is the key to united action, and it is necessary to increase the membership and activity of the Communist Party, with special attention to the recruitment of women. The present mood of the workers, as well as the urgent issues of today, require a mass Communist Party, with a high level of political understanding, inspiring the whole working class, and preparing the ground for achieving unity of the Labour movement, which remains the indispensable basis for far-reaching social changes.

The struggle between rising Socialism and moribund capitalism has reached a new stage. Britain is in a key position. The Communist Party has the responsibility, in association with all that is best in the Labour movement, of winning Britain for a positive, progressive policy in this struggle, and so helping the British people themselves to move forward to Socialism.

The Colonies

I. The Colonial Peoples after the War

In the course of the war and following the military defeat of the fascist powers a powerful upsurge of the colonial and subject peoples in the struggle for national liberation has manifested itself.

The wartime experiences of the Colonial people, especially of those who organised their own military opposition to the fascist invaders, have imbued them with a new outlook and a new self-confidence, have laid bare in sharper fashion their intense exploitation by imperialism, and this in turn has found its reflection in the development of great mass movements which have come into open conflict with the reactionary forces of imperialism.

The aim of national liberation for which the war was fought against the fascist invaders has given a tremendous impetus to the colonial peoples' struggle, and has resulted in a mighty strengthening of the liberation forces. The strengthening of the Soviet Union as a world power, the development of new democratic states in Eastern Europe, and the creation of the United Nations Organisation have increased the possibilities for the advancement of world peace, democracy and social progress. The international trusteeship system proposed by the U.N.O. represents a big step forward in contrast to the old League of Nations' policy regarding the colonies, despite the fact that this proposed Trusteeship System still falls far short of being adequate.

Within the colonial territories the course of events during the war and since its termination has brought about a sharper class differentiation in the ranks of the colonial people. Under the leadership of the young Communist Parties, the organised working-class and peasant movements are playing an increasingly significant role in the development of the national liberation movement. The representation from trade union organisations in the Colonies to the World Federation of Trade Unions and the important part they are playing in the development of this organisation is a further indication of the new powerful working-class forces which have come to the fore in the Colonial territories.

Even during the recent war the British imperialists continued the restriction of the economic and industrial development of the Colonies and pursued a policy which has led to acute agrarian crisis, and even famine among large masses of the Colonial peoples. Now, in an effort to build up its position, imperialism is attempting to rebuild once again the vicious Colonial system. In this regard it follows the dual methods of resorting to open and violent repression on the one hand, and on the other hand manœuvring to split the national movements by reaching a basis for

compromise with the vacillating or reactionary elements in order to set the latter against the rising working-class forces. For this purpose it makes use of a variety of new constitutions and constitutional "reforms" which, however, leave unchanged the real substance of power.

II. The Labour Government and the Colonies

The overwhelming defeat of the Tory imperialists at the General Election was received with satisfaction by the Colonial peoples. Widespread hopes were aroused that a Labour Government would break with imperialism and give all assistance to the national movements of the Colonial people to achieve their emancipation without delay.

But after one year of Labour Government, the subject people are asking with growing impatience in what way Labour's Colonial administration and policy differs from the Tories'. On the one hand violent repression and armed force, as in South East Asia, are used against those who fought with us against the Japanese, and, on the other, there are manoeuvres to split the national movements by insignificant formal concessions with the object of reaching a basis of collaboration with reactionary elements. Spokesman for the Labour Government parade the Government's policy of "independence" for India, the proposal to evacuate Egypt, the Treaty of "independence" with Transjordan, and the new constitutions granted or proposed for Ceylon, Malta, Cyprus, Nigeria, Gold Coast, etc., as proof of Labour's break with imperialism.

But the subject people are not deceived either by specious constitutional reforms or by declarations of sham independence which seek to deflect the demand for freedom but which leave unchanged the real substance of power, the fact of military occupation and the economic relations which are the essence of imperialist domination.

The British plan for India is no plan for independence so long as India is occupied by British troops. The appointment of Lord Mountbatten as Viceroy, in place of Lord Wavell, is accompanied by a Government declaration which is calculated to intensify antagonisms and divisions within India and prepare the way for a British-imposed constitution and partition of India.

The negotiation of a new Treaty with Egypt is farcical so long as British troops still occupy the country, and conditions are insisted upon which would bind Egypt to Britain's foreign policy. The "independence" of Transjordan is subject to British armed occupation and political control, whilst the aim of independence for Palestine enjoined by the Mandate and repeatedly promised by Britain, is now abandoned and the country turned into a British strategic base. The massing of British troops in Iraq, on the borders of Iran, is a significant indication that imperialist and oil interests still guide British Middle policy.

The various new constitutional reforms granted or promised to the colonies in Africa, West Indies, Ceylon and elsewhere, whilst giving limited concessions to privileged classes at the expense of real democracy, all leave unchallenged the ultimate powers of the Governor and his bureaucracy.

In all these respects, the Labour Government is continuing unchanged the basic colonial policy of the Tories, seeking not a break with imperialism but to find new forms and relationships adaptable to new situations,

but retaining the old essence of exploitation. Pursuing a foreign policy that endangers world peace, it is therefore forced to strengthen its hold upon the strategic colonial areas and the economic preserves which British capitalism requires in order to bolster up its weakened position in the world.

III. Freedom for Colonies means Progress for Britain

The British people will have to pay dearly if the Labour Government is permitted to pursue such a colonial policy, which threatens world peace and seeks to maintain the old colonial system by the suppression of the political and economic aspiration of millions of people throughout the world.

On the other hand, a break with imperialism and the adoption of a Socialist policy towards the colonies will create the most favourable conditions for the advance towards Socialism in this country; it will win millions of people all over the world as allies for the British working class against reactionary vested interests; it will facilitate the economic development of backward territories, thus removing the "colonial slums" that prevent the expansion of world trade. Further, the large reserves of manpower at present wastefully used for police and military purposes to hold the Colonial people down will be released for urgent tasks of reconstruction at home. *Our peace, our trade, and our democracy at home are directly dependent upon the achievement of freedom and democracy abroad.*

The reformist ideas that the continuation of the subject empire is needed to maintain standards at home must be ruthlessly exposed. Only by the fullest economic, political and social development of all Colonial countries can the future of British standards be maintained.

The organised Labour movement, by its resolutions and declarations in recent years, has made it clear that it accepts this responsibility. Its declared aim of independence for India and self-determination and social progress for the colonies must now be fought for by the whole Labour movement, and put into effect by the Labour Government as a vital part of Labour's programme and the struggle for world peace and social security.

IV. The Policy of the Communist Party

The Communist Party, therefore, declares that the Colonial system deprives the Colonial people of their right to political and economic self-determination, and constitutes a menace to world peace and a barrier to social progress at home. It proclaims a solidarity with, and full support of, the struggle for the self-determination of all subject peoples.

The Communist Party demands that British troops be withdrawn from South East Asia, from India, from Egypt, Palestine, Iraq and Transjordan; and declares that there can be no real independence, or negotiations for independence, so long as military occupation persists.

We call upon the Government to support and strengthen the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations as an organ of international co-operation through which economically backward territories may be

genuinely helped forward to achieve self-determination in the shortest possible time in accordance with the expressed wishes of the people.

We call upon the Government to draw up draft proposals for trusteeship for Tanganyika, Togoland and the Cameroons, in full accord with the terms of the United Nations Charter, and to oppose any effort on South Africa to annexe South-west Africa.

The Communist Party campaigns for complete civil liberty and full democratic rights for all subject peoples as a necessary part of their struggle for freedom. It denounces all forms of discrimination based upon colour or race. All laws and ordinances directed against freedom of speech, movement or organisation, must be withdrawn, and to all people must be given equal opportunity and equal access to modern social services. It calls on British Labour movements to give every support to the W.F.T.U. in its work among the Colonial peoples.

The Communist Party, believing that the development of world trade and world prosperity depends upon a steadily rising standard of living in the Colonies, calls upon the Government to break down the power of the monopoly concerns and foreign vested interests which impoverish the Colonies, and by a system of credits, technical assistance, etc., to aid and encourage the people to develop their own economies on a balanced basis.

In addition, the Communist Party puts forward the following immediate specific demands:—

India: Withdraw British troops from India and abandon the whole Cabinet Mission Plan, which is no plan for Indian freedom and creates an intensification of political and communal antagonisms within India. Recognise the full independence of India *now* and hand over full power to the present Constituent Assembly, as the first immediate step, leaving the way clear for the Indian people to set up their own democratic Constituent Assembly, based on universal suffrage and the rights of national self-determination, through which they will be able to settle their own internal differences without interference or being bound by a British "plan." Sever relations with the princes and cease using them as tools of imperialist policy and encouraging their obstruction of a free and democratic Indian Republic. Allow India freely to conduct her own foreign policy, which will include the recall of all Indian troops to India.

Burma: Permit the Burmese people to form their own free provisional government which must be vested with full executive and legislative powers, including defence, external affairs and frontier areas, free from interference by the Governor. There must be provision for a truly sovereign and democratically elected Constituent Assembly, with unlimited and administrative authority, whose decisions on the future constitution and status of Burma will be final. Establish full civil rights in the frontier areas, and democratic machinery to enable elected representatives of the hill peoples to take their place in the Constituent Assembly. Help to rebuild Burma's shattered economy in the interests of the Burmese people and support Burma's claim for reparations from Japan. Withdraw British and Indian troops.

Malaya: In consultation with all political parties, trades unions and other mass organisations establish organs of democratically elected and responsible government, both centrally and locally, on a basis of adult franchise, for all residents of whatever race. Grant full civil liberties, freedom of speech and of labour organisation, and end the ruthless persecution of Malaya's

guerilla patriots who fought three and a half years against the Japanese. Urgent steps must be taken to check inflation by increased imports and control of prices, to raise wages to a living standard, to develop social services and to enable the Malayan people to build up Malayan economy.

Africa: Real democratic forms must be extended to the African Colonies as an immediate step to complete self-determination. This will entail putting an end to the autocratic powers of the Governor, the Africanisation of the Civil Services from top to bottom and the transfer of real executive and legislative responsibility to democratically-elected bodies. Democratically-elected local bodies must be set up with real control and responsibility in their areas. All discriminatory legislation or customs such as Master and Servant Acts, Poll Taxes, Pass Laws, Forced Labour Ordinances, etc., must be abolished so that all peoples living in Africa, whatever their colour or race, may have equal rights of citizenship, equal economic rights and equal and vastly improved social services. The scandal of race or colour discrimination and segregation must be done away with at once. The White Paper on Mass Education in Africa must be implemented at once.

The vast economic and political power of foreign monopolies which have drained Africa's wealth must be broken so that they can no longer dominate the economic life of the African Colonies. The wealth of Africa must be secured to the African people so that it can be used to finance great new development schemes under the control of the Africans themselves. These schemes, worked out in consultation with the African peoples, must be aimed at the reorganisation of agriculture to wipe out single-crop economies, tackle crop pests and soil erosion and modernise agricultural methods. They must also be aimed at a great development of industrialisation, using the resources of the Colonies to enrich the people who live in them.

Middle East: A policy of peace and friendship with the Arab countries must be pursued in the Middle East. This requires the complete withdrawal of troops from Egypt and the Sudan, from Iraq and Transjordan, as well as from Palestine. It is impossible for negotiations for treaties of friendship to be conducted with these countries under the pressure of armed occupation, nor so long as imperialist intrigues are being carried on to impose reactionary feudal dynasties upon the Arab peoples with the object of making them pliant satellites in an anti-Soviet, anti-working-class policy of reaction.

The demands of the people of Cyprus to be joined once again to their Greek motherland must be granted. British troops must be withdrawn from both the island and Greece itself, so that the gallant Greek peoples may have at last an opportunity to build up the free democracy for which they fought.

West Indies: With their economy dominated by huge monopolies paying dividends to foreign bond holders and with top-heavy bureaucratic administration in each island, the West Indies are poverty-stricken slums suffering acute problems of unemployment, under-nourishment, inadequate housing and low wages. A complete overhaul of their economic structure is necessary so as to make possible the provision of adequate social services of every description. Government aid must be provided for developing agriculture and in industry so as to create balanced economies; the islands must no longer be forced, in the interests of the monopolies, to import all their foodstuffs. To carry through these changes it will be necessary to

replace the control of Whitehall by truly democratic institutions in all the islands, put an end to the governors' special powers and the nominated members of the Assemblies and the special privileges of vested interests. The people of the West Indies must be given the right freely to manage their own affairs and to determine their own future, including, if they wish, a confederation of the islands.

The Colonial Services, and methods of recruitment to them, should be overhauled and modernised, so that Britain may be represented in the Colonies by men who really believe in democracy, progress and racial equality. The Communist Party declares that the struggle to secure these immediate demands and human rights for millions of subject people, so that, with our aid, they can determine their own future, is a responsibility of the British Labour movement which cannot be evaded. It must become the conviction of the whole working-class movement that this struggle is an essential part of our struggle for peace and democracy, and that the Colonial people, who are now rising to challenge the rule of imperialism, are our powerful allies on our side to prevent a new world war and to advance towards Socialism.

Youth

This Congress, recognising that the entire future of Britain depends on solving the problems of the nation's Youth, and the leading part they must play in the country's reconstruction, declares that the Communist Party must regard as a central responsibility its duty to help the young people of Britain in their fight to win conditions that will safeguard their interests and guarantee their full participation in the country's economic, social and political life.

What Has to be Put Right

The manpower shortage today in such basic industries as coal, textiles, steel, foundries and agriculture reflects the experience of youth in the years between the two wars, when, as the result of the policy of Toryism and big business, these industries were in a continual state of crisis that destroyed the faith of young people in their future and lost tens of thousands of potential skilled men and women. Youth was regarded by the employing class as a source of cheap labour, to be flung on to the scrapheap on reaching adult age. Hundreds of thousands of young people were forced into blind alley jobs in mass production, distribution and parasitic employments.

The overwhelming majority of young people were thrown out of school at 14, with little opportunity for further education or training for permanent careers. The universities were, in the main, closed to the working-class youth. Facilities for sport and the use of leisure were totally inadequate for young people of the working class.

The country's neglect of its young people was unfortunately reflected in the attitude of the Labour movement towards them. Only a handful of young workers was drawn into the trade unions; the Labour League of Youth was disrupted by the Labour Party Executive; the Co-operative

Youth Organisations were insignificant in relation to the Co-operative movement itself. It was only the Young Communist League, with its paper, *Challenge*, that campaigned steadily in the interests of the youth, and succeeded in drawing numbers of youth organisations into joint action on youth demands and in the fight for peace, and the University Labour Federation, uniting all Socialist students and mobilising large numbers of students for the anti-fascist struggle, realised the situation facing the youth of the country.

War Changes

In the stress of war against fascism, the Government was compelled to adopt a new attitude to the young people, who were called to supreme efforts in the armed forces and civil defence, in the factories, mines and transport services. The Service of Youth was organised, and efforts made to establish Youth Councils in every locality, to further the common interests of young people. Decisions were taken to raise the school-leaving age, to provide a minimum of continued education, and to increase the opportunities for higher education. At the same time, the manpower shortage brought higher earnings and better opportunities for young workers in industry.

These developments, and especially the war experiences of young people, have had a decisive effect on the outlook and character of Britain's youth.

Nevertheless, there is a marked movement among young people to stay away from the basic industries, mining, shipbuilding, heavy engineering, etc. This is part of the problem of manpower in Britain, and the Labour Government must take special steps to attract youth into these industries.

The Swing to Labour

In the General Election, Britain's young people swung to Labour as against Toryism, playing an outstanding part in the electoral victory. In many localities, Labour League of Youth organisations have developed, and the Co-operative Youth movement has grown. The youth membership of Trade Unions has increased, and the National Miners' Union, the A.E.U., Building Workers and other unions have put forward youth training schemes and demands for their young members.

Nevertheless, the great majority of working-class youth remains either unorganised or in organisations whose reactionary political leadership strives to maintain among the youth a "non-political" outlook that prevents their association with the great forward movement of the working class, which alone can safeguard their interests and bring into being a Britain which offers youth a future. The Tories are striving to capture young people and organise them politically behind the Tory Party, hoping to influence the three million young voters who will be a decisive new force in the 1950 General Election.

Youth Demands

This Congress, realising the urgent need of young people for a better chance in life, and at the same time the vital part that young people must play in the struggle for Labour's programme and the advance to Socialism, declares that the Communist Party must work, along with the whole

Labour movement, to secure the fullest industrial, social and political organisation of working-class youth, and its co-operation with other young people in winning a future for the youth.

The principal question for young people is the opportunity to develop their capabilities and to play a really useful part in life. Every detailed demand put forward by the youth aims at contributing towards this end. But the most vital of all conditions for the development of young people is the preservation of peace; therefore the struggle for peace, and against imperialist policies that keep alive the menace of war, must always be the central point in youth activity.

The Communist Party considers the following to be the most urgent demands for youth:—

Education: A broad secondary-school education up to 16 years based on the Common School, with equal chances for all, as against the three types of secondary schools which prevent all-round development and result in the restriction of opportunities for the great majority of young people. The raising of school-leaving age to 15 on April 1, 1947. All education authorities to use powers to ban employment of schoolchildren during the school term.

The full operation of the County Colleges scheme, with serious opportunities for all-round development for young workers in employment; the extension of technical colleges and a big increase in the numbers receiving higher and University Education free of charge and with maintenance grants.

Employment: Government legislation to prohibit blind-alley jobs; training schemes for every industry along the lines demanded by the 1945 T.U.C.; higher wage rates based on wages-for-age scales; the rate for the job for young workers performing adult work; a shorter working week for young workers compared with adult workers (including time off for study); a month's paid holiday during the year.

In line with proposals of the Communist Party for the re-development areas, particularly Wales and Scotland, to press for measures to counteract the emigration trends among young people.

Trade Union Membership: One hundred per cent organisation of all young workers, with youth sections in every trade union and youth shop stewards and representatives on factory committees, branch committees and trades councils.

The Forces: Young people in their period of compulsory military service to be given facilities for continued training, apprenticeship and study; overhaul of existing regulations and practices to safeguard democracy and to ensure equal rights of promotion; as well as complete religious and political liberty; and the encouragement of study and discussion. Action to be taken against employers sacking youth on approaching call-up age.

General: Adequate provision by all Local Authorities of facilities for sports, recreation, and the use of leisure. Extension of Youth Councils to every area, with representation of all youth organisations, including political organisations. Votes for all young people at 18 years of age.

Congress declares its full support to the efforts of the Young Communist League to work locally and nationally with all other youth organisations in the development of a great national movement for peace, democracy and social advance, centred on the programme and activities of the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

Congress declares that only Socialism can bring final solution to the problems of Britain's youth and open wide the doors to the boundless energy and initiative of our young people.

The Young Communist League

In the fight for the interests of young people, the Communist Party regards the Young Communist League, with its paper *Challenge*, as an indispensable weapon. It is the youth organisation of the Communist Party, with membership open to all young people who are attracted by the aims of Socialism and of study and discussion, and wish to be associated with the struggle for a better order of society. It educates its members in the broad principles of Socialism and trains them for eventual entry into the Communist Party. Y.C.L. members regard it as their responsibility to play a part in the trade Unions, Co-operative, student and other youth organisations, helping to draw young workers into industrial, social and political activity. The League seeks to draw young people into the fight for their own demands by organising mass campaigns and activities of a youthful character around the main economic, political and social issues of youth. It organises National and District Conferences to state its current policy and elect its leaders.

The Task of the Communist Party

In giving effect to this Resolution, all Communist Party organisations and members must bear in mind the tremendous political and social changes that can be brought about by the winning of youth demands, and the building up of unity of young people in the fight for these. It calls upon all sections of the Communist Party for the development of a great campaign for youth's demands.

Our members on Local Authorities, in factories, Trade Unions and Co-operative Organisations, must play an active part in organising young workers and helping to promote their interests.

Congress demands a decisive change in the attitude and responsibility of the Communist Party in building, developing and leading the Young Communist League. There can be no advance of the Communist Party or Socialism in Britain unless masses of the Youth are inspired with the aims and objects of Communism.

The Young Communist League is the Youth organisation of the Communist Party. The primary responsibility for its organisation and guidance is that of the Communist Party, and Congress demands an end to the virtual isolation between the Party Branches and the Young Communist League.

In assuming its full political and organisational responsibility for the Y.C.L., the Party must do all in its power to assist the growth of the League, assisting in its educational work and guiding its activities in the

interests of all young workers, especially by allocating Party comrades to work with it at Branch and all other levels.

Our Party District Committees and Branches must, as part of their regular work, handle the problems of the young people, assisting their political development, and helping them to formulate and fight for their demands, drawing in all working-class and progressive organisations in support.

Congress urges all Party members with families to win their sons and daughters for membership of the Y.C.L., and appeals to all Party members of appropriate age to become members of the Y.C.L.

The Executive Committee of the Party, in association with the League leadership, will consult on the best ways of developing the systematic promotion of League members of appropriate age to the Party.

Care must be taken in operating these decisions to develop the utmost comradely association with the League members and to encourage the greatest initiative and responsibility of the League members and leaders.

In order to achieve these aims, it is vital that a considerable number of young people should have the understanding and outlook of Communism, while remaining close to the youth movement as a whole and participating in every form of association and activity of young people.

The Communist Party must, therefore, see that the building up of the membership of the Young Communist League is the most direct and effective basis for all activity on youth questions. The greatest help must be given to the political education of Y.C.L. members and to the propaganda activities of the Y.C.L. At the same time, it is essential for Party District Committees and Branches to campaign themselves on youth questions, and to bring in all other bodies to such campaigns.

Congress recognises the exceptional importance of the youth in the fight for peace and social progress, and calls upon all members of the Communist Party to carry out this resolution with confidence and determination as a vital part of the struggle for Britain's future.

The "Daily Worker"

Congress greets the *Daily Worker* as the spokesman of the working people and declares that the appearance of the full-size paper this year will place a weapon of enormously increased power in the hands of the Labour movement.

But very great efforts are still needed in order to reach this new stage. Production costs have greatly increased and the paper now faces severe financial difficulties.

Congress therefore calls on all members to ensure that the following minimum needs are fulfilled:

- (1) The achievement of the full £3,000 each month in the Fighting Fund.
- (2) The raising of the circulation to 150,000 copies a day.
- (3) By every possible means, but especially through share clubs, to raise the capital of the P.P.P.S. by a further £62,000 to £250,000 and carry out the slogan of the 18th Congress: "Every member a shareholder."

The magnificent result of the recent circulation campaign show that these aims can be achieved only by means of the energetic action of the Party.

Music and the Arts

That this Congress requests the Executive Committee to support and encourage the great cultural awakening of the mass of the people at this time, when bourgeois writers, painters and composers are escaping almost wholesale into attitudes of mysticism, other-worldliness and cynicism.

The opportunities for progressive cultural workers were never greater than now; for the people in general have had their appetites for books, music, drama and paintings stimulated by wartime organisations such as C.E.M.A., E.N.S.A., etc., which were able to provide cultural facilities for huge audiences at a trifling cost to the new patrons of the arts.

Great responsibility now devolves upon our cultural workers. They must see to it that the opportunities for the wide diffusion of books, music, drama and paintings are increased; and they must find ways to combat capitalist restrictions and limitations on their work and the uses to which it is put.

Flooding Distress

Recent flooding over widespread areas of England, Scotland and Wales has resulted in widespread distress. The example of Salford, where 6,000 homes were flooded (£500,000 damage done), is a warning that our rivers and water catchment areas are a potential and actual source of danger. Homes, the result of years of saving, have been badly damaged, and their occupants have been faced with a major domestic disaster.

This Congress demands that:

- (1) The Government makes an overall survey of the position so as to ensure that adequate anti-flood measures are undertaken. The rivers of Britain should be nationalised.
- (2) Block grants to be made to the local authorities concerned so that they can compensate in full those people who have suffered loss and damage to their household goods and furnishings.
- (3) Town planning authorities do all in their power to prevent pollution of rivers by factories built on the river banks. No building should encroach over the natural banks of the river.

Due to the lack of comprehensive policy, local authorities, catchment boards and similar bodies evade their responsibilities, and flood victims are thrown on to the mercy of charity, which is usually grossly inadequate, e.g., only £50,000 was collected for the Salford flood victims.

The Development Areas

This 19th Congress of the Communist Party draws attention to the serious situation in the Development Areas, where the level of unemployment is higher than at any time since the General Election. Even before the present fuel crisis, total unemployment increased from 131,000 in July, 1945, to 401,000 in January this year: more than half of which is in the Development Areas.

In face of the urgent and desperate need for more manpower in industry, Congress demands that immediate and drastic measures be adopted by the Government to provide regular and stable employment in the Development Areas and so prevent a repetition of the human misery which existed in these areas between the two world wars.

The nation cannot afford 401,000 unemployed workers at a time when the life of the British people depends on increased production; nor can it tolerate a situation in which those who have suffered most between the wars should again have to bear the main brunt of unemployment.

Congress therefore demands that the Government take immediate steps to:

- (1) Put into force the compulsory location of industry to the Development Areas as part of a national plan of production.
- (2) Ensure that the new industries produce mining machinery for coal industry, and technical equipment for other basic industries, to assist the reorganisation of Britain's economy.

Congress welcomes the decision to organise a National Deputation to the House of Commons to press these claims, and pledges its fullest support to carry on the fight to end the present scandal of unemployment in the Development Areas.

Films

This Congress takes note of the considerable influence of the cinema on the lives of the people. While welcoming films of the highest quality from all countries, we deplore the dominating position, achieved both directly and through British film monopolies, of the big American film monopolies on British screens.

Not only does the present extent of film importation from America involve a high dollar expenditure which Britain, in its present economic situation, can ill afford, but the bulk of the imported productions, with their glorification of cynicism, self-interest and immorality, exercise a harmful influence, advantageous to the reactionary and aggressive purposes of monopoly capitalism.

Congress welcomes the improved technical and cultural quality of British films and the growing public appreciation of them, but deplores the failure of the industry to utilise the screen for increasing public acquaintance with the progressive culture of contemporary Europe and the peoples striving for independence.

It calls upon the Government:

to develop a nationally owned and controlled sector of film exhibition and distribution;

to expand the present national film production units, so as to produce drama as well as documentaries, and to support municipal and co-operative film enterprises, voluntary film associations and independent film producers, in order that the cinema may better serve the interests of the people.

India

This Congress makes the strongest possible protest against the repressive measures being taken during the past two months against the Indian Communist Party and other organisations of the Indian working class. The

Communist Party of India, with its undisputed leadership of the Indian workers and peasants, has proved itself to be a tremendous political force within the struggle for India's national liberation; its exposure of, and relentless fight against, the manoeuvres of British imperialism to maintain its military and economic domination has caused it to be selected for the present attack on civil liberty. Congress rejects the disclaimer of responsibility for the arrests and searches all over India that have been issued by the British Government, and calls upon the Labour movement in this country to express its urgent demand, both to the Labour Government and to the Indian Interim Government, to take immediate steps to withdraw the present charges and prosecutions and release the arrested leaders.

South Africa

This Congress places on record its strongest condemnation of the infringement of civil liberties by the South African Government, and its complete disregard of the human rights of millions of Africans, Indians and coloured people. It expresses its opposition to the Royal Tour, which is an implied endorsement of the regime. The raids on Communist Party offices and the arrest and prosecution of its leaders on charges of conspiracy are a notable tribute to the consistent struggle of our brother Party to win democratic rights for the oppressed communities in South Africa and to unite all the people, irrespective of race or colour. The Communist Party fights against the colour bar and against all discrimination; and against the "Ghetto Bill" which segregates Indians. Hence it has been selected by the reactionary Government of General Smuts for persecution and attack. Congress welcomes the international rebuff given to the Smuts Government by the United Nations in respect of its treatment of Indians and its demand to incorporate South-west Africa, and calls upon the Labour movement in Britain to endorse and uphold this rebuff and to demand the immediate dropping of the conspiracy case launched against the Communist leaders, and their release.

Greece

The Annual Congress of the Communist Party of Britain strongly condemns the policy of the British Government in relation to Greece. It demands the complete withdrawal of all British troops from Greek soil and the complete cessation of all support for the royalist fascist forces in Greece. This Congress also extends its warmest sympathy to the Greek people, and particularly to the heroic guerillas, who are waging the struggle for the freedom and independence of Greece and for the advance of democracy. It pledges itself to do all in its power to win the support of the entire Labour movement in Britain on behalf of the democratic people of Greece.

Education

This Congress, being fully aware of the urgent industrial and social problems that face the people of Britain, recognises that the solution of these problems depends to a large extent in the long run on raising the educational standards of the country. This can be achieved by a great expansion of the educational services and radical changes in the content of education, which will make education more democratic and more scientific.

Congress, therefore, expresses its deep dissatisfaction with the slow progress being made in the implementation of the Education Act of 1944. It calls on the new Minister of Education, in co-operation with the local education authorities:

- (a) To hasten the provision of buildings, including prefabricated, in order that the new age group can be satisfactorily accommodated.
- (b) To take drastic measures to expand further the teaching service without which the progressive features of the Act cannot be implemented.
- (c) To reverse the policy at present operating which gives low priority to nursery education.
- (d) To hasten the provision of school canteens in order that the promised midday meal service be introduced without further delay.

At the same time Congress calls on the new Minister of Education to give a lead to the local authorities to establish the Common School as the basis of secondary education, and to announce a target date for the raising of the leaving age to 16 and the compulsory operation of County Colleges.

We call, too, for immediate steps to be taken to expand the provision for higher education on a democratic basis to meet the crying shortage of highly-educated personnel so necessary for Britain's reconstruction.

Congress pledges the support of the Party to all measures for improving education, and calls on all Party organisations throughout the country to act vigorously in securing locally the full implementation of these proposals.

Agriculture

This Congress declares that the present economic position of Britain makes it imperative that her soil should produce to the maximum capacity food for human consumption on the lines laid down in the Communist Party's Agricultural Memorandum published in 1945.

In this way we can reduce food imports and assist our export drive, help other countries by making a smaller call on world food, and strengthen our resistance to political pressure from abroad exercised through our food supplies.

We consider the food shortages here will become more serious by next winter, and there is an urgent need to realise that agriculture is one of the essential foundations of our national economy.

The Government White Paper, in stressing the importance of switching from crops to livestock production, and calling for an increase no larger than 40,000 in the agricultural labour force, is gambling on the possibility of increased imports of cereals and feeding stuffs, which is highly uncertain in the next few years.

Congress therefore demands:

- (1) That the Government must put forward in definite and specific terms a national production plan for agriculture, giving the broad outlines of a cropping and livestock programme for a period of

eight to ten years ahead. It is urgent that there should be an early announcement of the targets for the 1948 harvest, which should include three million acres of wheat and an increase in the total acreage under crops.

- (2) That in view of the acute labour shortage a drive must be made to attract more British labour to the land by such steps as the granting of the farm workers' demand for a £4 10s. minimum wage, immediate abolition of the tied-cottage system, speeding up the rural housing programme, shorter hours and a compulsory day off per week for farm workers.
- (3) That the Government should face the problem, not dealt with in the Agriculture Bill, of the capital re-equipment of agriculture by immediately providing large-scale capital assistance, with specially favourable terms to small farmers; and by declaring its intention of nationalising agricultural land (with the exception of that farmed by owner-occupiers) within the lifetime of the present Parliament—a measure which is indispensable for the full restoration of our land and farms.
- (4) That vigorous Government action should be taken to encourage all forms of co-operation amongst small farmers.
- (5) That the farm workers, should have equal representation with the farmers, plus landowners, on the County Agricultural Executive Committees.
- (6) That more tractors and machinery should be made available to home agriculture, both by increased production and by the curtailment of exports.

Further, in order to meet the crisis now upon us owing to the bad weather since last summer, and to provide the maximum stocks of food for direct human consumption next winter, the following immediate steps must be taken:

- (a) Extra labour must be provided from the Armed Forces to catch up with the spring cultivation and sowing.
- (b) An increased acreage of potatoes for the 1947 harvest to compensate for the loss of wheat and other cereals.
- (c) Every effort and inducement must be operated to ensure the sowing of spring wheat wherever possible.

Congress resolves to campaign to win the whole Labour movement for an active fight for these demands which are in the interest not only of the agricultural community, but also of the whole working class. It further resolves to fight to build a mass Communist Party in the countryside as the indispensable means through which this policy can be achieved.

Housing

This Congress regrets the Government's failure to set a target for the construction of houses. The Government's programme, based on an estimate of 240,000 new permanent houses in 1947, is entirely inadequate. We warn the country that unless drastic measures are taken even this estimate will fail to materialise.

While appreciating the continued emphasis on the construction of houses

for rent, reliance on local authorities as the chief house-building agency and the inclusion of some 60,000 prefabricated houses in the estimates, a serious view must be taken of the Government's acceptance of a production rate only equal to pre-war.

While certain progress has been made in the manufacture of building materials, the provision of an adequate number of houses is being sabotaged by the wrong foreign trade policy which is failing to obtain the supplies of timber required from the Soviet Union, Scandinavia and Finland, from which most of the materials came before the war. The Government has so far failed to enter into the manufacture of building materials on the large scale necessary, and is permitting an enormous leakage of building materials by ineffective control of distribution. While the labour force is nearly up to pre-war strength, a large proportion is wasted through badly-organised work, failure to use modern methods and the uneconomic operations of a huge number of very small, mushroom concerns.

The specific tasks before the Government and the building trades unions this year are:

To set definite targets, both short-term and long-term, and organise all the resources of the industries concerned to achieve them.

To effect change the Government's foreign-trade policy so as to secure greater supplies of timber.

To expand the production of building materials by improving wages, conditions and equipment in the building materials industry.

To end the misuse of the existing labour force available by drastically reducing the number and value of licences granted for non-essential work; concentrating firms with necessary staff and equipment on local authority housing, improving the efficiency of production, including the use of prefabrication methods.

To end the misuse and leakage of material by bulk purchase of all materials by Government and resale to local authorities and merchants or contractors for essential work only.

To establish in each region priorities for housing, factories, schools, hospitals, repairs, in such ration as determined by national interest and resources available; enforcement of Government control and limitation of licences issues. All licences to be publicly displayed on the job.

To introduce a policy of fixed price contracts instead of percentage on cost. Firmly control prices of materials.

To extend where possible direct labour departments of local authorities.

To secure the wage demands of the building workers, the fully guaranteed week and some system of incentive bonus payments under union control.

Congress declares that the successful solution of the housing question can be achieved only through the enthusiastic co-operation of the building workers.

The Guaranteed Week and Victimisation

In order that the full burden of the fuel crisis should not fall on the workers, the following steps must be taken by the Government:

- (1) There must be a Government directive to cancel dismissal notices; and the ending of all forms of victimisation.

- (2) The Government must instruct employers that every worker who has been dismissed shall be reinstated; and the resumption of work to take place in consultation with the shop stewards.
- (3) The Government must take measures to ensure that every worker idle owing to the crisis is paid a basic week's wages.
- (4) The guaranteed-week agreement must be honoured in full when production difficulties occur, as they probably will for some time to come.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES

Delegates from abroad—believed to be the greatest number ever attending a national Communist Party Congress—were:

AUSTRALIA: Jack Henry Gerald Peel	INDIA: Dr. Adhikari S. Ali
AUSTRIA: F. Fuernberg	LEBANON: F. Helou
BELGIUM: R. Dispy	MALAYA: R. Balan W. T. Wong A. R. Bin Madin
CANADA: Tim Buck	N. IRELAND: A. Barr W. H. McCullough S. Murray
CEYLON: P. Kumarasiri	NORWAY: Heiestad
CUBA: H. Escalante	PALESTINE: E. Touma S. Mikunis
CYPRUS: E. Joannides N. Ioannou G. T. Photiou	POLAND: W. Bienowski R. Heller
CZECHOSLOVAKIA: N. Novy	S. AFRICA: D. du Plessis H. A. Naidoo
DENMARK: A. Larsen	SPAIN: A. Mije
FINLAND: T. Karvonen	SWEDEN: N. Holmberg
FRANCE: Berlioz I. Mauvais	SYRIA: K. Bagdache
GERMANY: M. Reimann	U.S.A.: W. Z. Foster
GREECE: Prof. Porphyrogenis	
HOLLAND: P. de Groot	
HONG KONG: R. Wong	
HUNGARY: M. Horvath	
ICELAND: B. Thorbjarnarsson	

APPEALS COMMITTEE

The following were elected:

G. Cunnick	R. McIlhone
M. Airey	R. W. Robson
J. Gaster	J. Shields
R. Stewart	

AUDITORS

L. S. Dunstan and W. Holmes were elected as Auditors.

CREDENTIALS REPORT

NUMBER OF DELEGATES:

Men, 562; Women, 103. Total: 665.

DEMOBILISED FROM FORCES

Men, 204; Women, 6.

NUMBER OF BRANCHES AND BOROUGHES REPRESENTED:

Branches, 367; Boroughs, 94; D.P.C.s, 17.

AGE GROUPS:

Under 20	5	31—40 years	283
20—25 years	94	41—50 years	116
26—30 years	142	Over 50	25

Average age—34

LENGTH OF PARTY MEMBERSHIP:

Up to 1 year	59	4 to 7 years	175
Up to 2 years	38	7 to 10 years	126
Up to 3 years	31	10 to 15 years	139
Up to 4 years	31	15 to 20 years	37
Over 20 years	29		

OCCUPATIONS:

Engineering	162	Cotton and Textiles	16
Mining	34	Party Functionaries	32
Building	52	Agriculture	9
Transport	40	Housewives	35
Distribution	14	Unemployed	24
Clerical & Professional	133	Miscellaneous	88
Public Services	26		

TRADE UNIONS:

A.E.U. and E.T.U. (Factory Works, N.U.V.B., S.H., Metal R.)	154	Textile Unions	5
B.I.S.A.K.T.A. and Ship-building	8	N.U.D.A.W. (Amalgamated)	30
N.U. Mineworkers	39	N.U.T. Garment Workers	9
Building Unions (A.U.B.T.W., A.S.W.C.E.U., N.S.P., N.A.P.)	45	C.A.W.U. (Clerical)	
Rails Unions (N.U.R., A.S.L.E.F., R.C.A.)	25	Professional and Technical (A.Sc.W., A.B.T., A.S.S.E.T., A.E.S.D., N.U.T., N.U.J.)	78
N.U. Agricultural Workers	17	Local Authority Unions (N.A.L.G.O., N.U.P.E.)	12
T.G.W.U.	60	Civil Service (C.S.C.A., N.L.S., A.P.O.E.)	20
N.U.G.M.U.	25	Sundries	18

MEMBERS OF CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES 513

MEMBERS WITH PARTY RESPONSIBILITIES 598

DUES POSITION:

In advance	407	No Card	46
Paid to date	164	No Stamps	2
Paid to January, 1947	34	1946 Cards	12

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT

FROM 1st JANUARY, 1945 TO 30th SEPTEMBER, 1946

INCOME				EXPENDITURE			
			£ s. d.				£ s. d.
Balance brought forward	4,249 11 6	Central Office Expenses—			
Membership—				Rent, Rates, Gas and Electricity	£2,735	6 1	
Cards and Dues Stamps	£21,359	6 9		Furniture, Equipment and Repairs	480	11 0	
Less Transferred to Election Fund	3,049	7 5		Stationery	1,535	17 8	
			18,309 19 4	Postages, Telegrams, Cables	2,911	14 3	
Contributions to General Fund—				Wages	22,940	4 10	
Weekly Quotas to Centre raised by				Library, Newspapers and Reference			
Districts and Branches by regular				Material	1,724	17 2	
guarantees	£19,605	11 1					32,328 11 0
Donations	9,284	18 6		Committee Expenses—			
			28,890 9 7	Executive Committee Fares and Expenses, and			
Sale of Literature, Campaign & Organisation Material	16,350	14 9		other National Committee Expenses			2,792 10 8
Bank Interest and other Sundry Receipts	550	19 2		Subscriptions and Donations			40 0 0
Congress—1945				Printing—			
Excess of Receipts over Payments	114	11 4		Literature, Pamphlets and Organising Material	21,090	15 6	
				Propaganda Campaigns—			
				Political Letters, Leaflets, Publicity, etc.	2,523	0 8	
				Education—			
				Hire of Halls and Rooms; Fares, and Expenses of			
				Schools	1,474	17 9	
				Press Office—			
				Subscriptions to Agencies, Blocks, etc.	183	5 1	
				Travelling and other Departmental Charges	5,257	16 2	
				Balance, carried forward	2,775	8 10	
			£68,466 5 8				£68,466 5 8

We have examined the above Income and Expenditure Account with the books and vouchers and certify that it is correct.

DECEMBER 2, 1946.

WALTER HOLMES }
L. DUNSTAN } Auditors